

a man or woman may address as *chau* a man from whom assistance is sought. 593

Affection between parents and children continues throughout life. It is shown by exchange of visits and gifts and by giving help whenever it is needed.

In general children are adequately provided with food and clothing. A man who neglects his wife and children is chided by his relatives and loses his status in the community. A father will make provision for a piece of land for each of his sons and daughters by laying claim to unassigned lands owned in common in the area. Fathers of families present their needs at meetings held by the men under the title of "The fathers of families." A *Cofiaripe* father told of a discussion held by "The fathers of families" on the previous night regarding the partitioning of community-owned lands and noted that he expected to be given a piece. "I must see to it that each one of my children will have a piece of land when it grows up." Adopted children were cared for and loved as were all other children in the family. 558

According to a 100-year-old *Cofiaripe* man, brothers and sisters spoke very little to one another when he was young; he believed this to have been a custom. Other informants—all at least 20 years younger than the old *Cofiaripe* man—had not heard of the custom. Two *Alepúe* women, one 80 years of age, the other 46, were greatly surprised to hear of such a custom.

There are no brother-sister taboos among the Araucanians today. Nor is there a conventional pattern for reciprocal affection among siblings. Siblings of all ages observed during the present study acted as one would expect them to act: they helped each other and talked, played, went on errands, and walked long distances together. On occasions a brother showed affectionate care for his sister. In one instance a 22-year-old man brought his 19-year-old sister, who was suffering from a prolonged headache, to an herbalist. After stating that his sister was sick, he asked the sister to give details. During an interview in a *ruka* a 19-year-old girl rested her elbow on her 17-year-old brother's knee while they sat on the same bench listening in. A non-Araucanian herbalist heard an eldest son being commissioned by his dying mother to care for, advise, and direct his brothers and sisters—she did not want her husband to do so; she resented his having married a younger woman as a second wife. Most boys in an *Alepúe* school between the ages of 11 and 14 loved a younger brother most of all brothers; boys between 8 and 11 loved an older brother most, generally the oldest brother. Most girls in the school loved a younger brother more than any other brother. Boys between 11 and

848 could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

- [558] Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if [684] the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

- 732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the [847] child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

855 A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it, 755 left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilineal marriage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage wealth is explained. 423 583

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy parental authority and leave the reservation. 583 584 [578] [67]

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admonished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains adamant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the reservation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone else. 584 896 848 [167]

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him. 578 558

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836 through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would
848 be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being
578 unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the pri-
558 mary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger
of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make
responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The
[177] notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from
a Chilean system of values.

754 The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love
836 affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party,
through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a
more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a
growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves
a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend,
however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these de-
part from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding
ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body
of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of
supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of
beliefs.

682 It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed
against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In
681 the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the
692 national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according
754 to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur-
682 der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of
839 adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this
836 practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who
had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said
628 that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or
the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close.
754 Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is
718 usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the
628 past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category
692 of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circum-
stances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly
involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which re-
sulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led
to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or